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Message Text

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51
ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 AF-10 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 DODE-00 OIC-04 SS-20 NSC-10

CU-04 EB-11 OMB-01 DRC-01 /175 W
---------- 111280
R 131100Z NOV 73
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2531
INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 59
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
USLOSACLANT
USDOCOSOUTH

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 6029

VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL MBFR

POUCHED TO ALGIERS AND TEL AVIV

E.O.11652 GDS
TAGS PFOR
SUBJ CSCE: SUBCOMMITTEE ON MILITARY SECURITY
(CBMS)-ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS

SUMMARY: SUBCOMMITTEE DEVOTED GREATER PART OF FINAL
TWO SESSIONS LAST WEEK TO DISCUSSION ADVANCE
NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS. SOVIETS FIRMLY STATED
OPPOSITION TO EFFORTS INCLUDE MOVEMENTS WITH MANEUVERS
AND WARNED THAT ATTEMPT MERGE TWO MEASURES COULD
PRECLUDE REACHING FINAL AGREEMENT. SOVIETS ARGUED
THAT HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS, WHICH APPROVED BY
MINISTERS, CLEARLY TREAT BOTH QUESTIONS SEPARATELY.
SOVIETS APPEALED TO PARTICIPANTS NOT TO DESTROY
PROGRESS ALREADY ACHIEVED BY ATTEMPTING TO TURN BACK
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TO EARLIER DISCUSSIONS, BUT TO ADOPT POSITIONS IN

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CONFORMITY WITH THE FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. PRINCIPAL THEME OF TWO SUBCOMMITTEE SESSIONS OF LAST WEEK DEVOTED IN LARGE PART TO DISCUSSION OF ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS WAS STAUNCH SOVIET OPPOSITION TO CONTINUING EFFORTS BY NUMBER OF NEUTRALS AND NATO ALLIES TO TREAT MOVEMENTS AND MANEUVERS TOGETHER. NORWAY, FRG AND UK AMONG ALLIES, AND SWEDEN AND YUGOSLAVIA AMONG NEUTRALS, BORE BRUNT OF CAMPAIGN TO PRESS SOVIETS ON MOVEMENTS. INDEED, NORWEGIAN STATEMENT THAT MOVEMENTS MUST BE INCLUDED IN CBMS TRIGGERED LATEST SOVIET EXAMPLE OF STONE-WALLING. MANY NEUTRALS SEEMED TO HAVE LOST SOME OF THEIR FIGHT IN THE FACE OF SOVIET OPPOSITION, WITH THE SWEDES AND MALTESE APPEALING TO PARTICIPANTS NOT TO BARGAIN TOO HARD ON CBMS OR LITTLE OR NOTHING WILL BE LEFT SO THAT THE FINAL RESULT OF THE CONFERENCE MAY BE A NEGATIVE ONE.

2. IN FAVORING THE INCLUSION OF MOVEMENTS, UK AND FRG EMPHA-SIZED THE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF CBMS IN GENERATING CONFIDENCE, AND DEEMED THE MILITARY ASPECTS AS SECONDARY. HOWEVER, IN ORDER TO GENERATE CONFIDENCE, THEY SAW A NEED FOR STATES TO NOTIFY OTHERS OF THE INTENT OF MAJOR MILITARY ACTIVITIES, WHETHER THEY INVOLVE MANEURVERS OR OTHER PURPOSES. AFTER ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THERE WAS BUDDING AGREEMENT ON THE VOLUNTARY RATHER THAN MANDATORY NATURE OF CBMS AND THAT MEASURES WOULD NOT CONSTITUTE RESTRAINTS ON MILITARY PREPAREDNESS OF ANY COUNTRY, UK REP OUT-LINED FIVE AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT WITH EASTERN BLOC: A.) UK HAS ALWAYS LUMPED MOVEMENTS WITH MANEUVERS, FEELING THAT THE DIFFI-CULTY OF MAKING A VALID DISTINCTION BETWEEN THEM LEAVES IT TO THE HOSE COUNTRY TO MAKE A SUBJECTIVE DECISION. B.) WITH REGARD TO AREA, UK FAVORS ALL OF EUROPE, BELIEVING THAT ANY ATTEMPTS TO DEFINE ZONES WOULD SUGGEST THAT SECURITY IS DIVISIBLE. C.) U.K. FAVORS AROUND 60 DAYS NOTICE ADVANCE NOTIFICATION. D.) WHILE AGREEING TO BILATERAL BASIS FOR NOTIFICATION TO ALL PARTICIPATING STATES, UK SEES NO REASON TO MAKE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN MULTINA-TIONAL AND NATIONAL ACTIVITIES; AND E.) WITH REGARD TO THE FORCE OF THE FINAL AGREEMENT, THE UK SUPPORTS VOLUNTARY APPROACH, BUT AIMS AT A WAY OF EXPRESSING IT THAT WILL CONSTITUTE PRESSURE TO OBSERVE ACCORDS. WITH LESS PRECISION, SWEDEN, YUGOSLAVIA, NORWAY AND FRG ALSO ADVOCATED LINK BETWEEN MANEUVERS AND MOVEMENTS.

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3. SOVIET AMB. MENDELEVITCH DELIVERED A PREDICTABLE RESPONSE, AMPLIFYING HIS EARLIER OPPOSITION TO EFFORTS TO TREAT MOVEMENTS TOGETHER WITH MANEUVERS. EXPLOITING THE HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS AS HIS TRUMP CARD, MENDELEVITCH ARGUED THAT FOREIGN MINISTERS IN HELSINKI APPROVED A DOCUMENT WHICH DIFFERENTIATES MANEUVERS AND MOVEMENTS. CSCE HAS NO CHOICE BUT TO CONSIDER THEM SEPARATELY. MENDELEVITCH ACKNOWLEDGED HOWEVER THAT THE HELSINKI RECOMMENDA-TIONS DIRECTED CSCE TO STUDY AND SUBMIT CONCLUSIONS ON MOVEMENTS.

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SOVIETS WERE PREPARED TO IMPLEMENT THIS DIRECTIVE, BUT CONTINUING EFFORTS ON THE PARTS OF SOME PARTICIPANTS TO REVERT TO EARLIER DISCUSSIONS ON THE LINKAGE BETWEEN MANEUVERS AND MOVEMENTS WOULD, IN THE SOVIET VIEW, PRECLUDE THE BASIS FOR A "COMPROMISE". (COMMENT: THERE ARE NO INDICATIONS THAT THE SOVIETS INTEND TO ACCEPT ANY CONCRETE PROPOSAL ON MOVEMENTS. END COMMENT.) MENDELEVITCH APPEALED TO THE PARTICIPANTS NOT TO DESTROY THE PROGRESS ALREADY ACHIEVED, AND TO FOREGO ANY EFFORTS TO MERGE MANEUVERS AND MOVEMENTS.

4. DURING THE COURSE OF HIS IMPROMPTU REMARKS, MENDELEVITCH POSED THREE QUESTIONS REGARDING MOVEMENTS TO WHICH HE SOLICITED A WESTERN RESPONSE: A.) WHAT KINDS OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF MANEUVERS DID THE WEST HAVE IN MIND, AND IN THIS CONNECTION, HE CITED AGAIN THE SOVIET-PREFERRED SWEDISH FORMULATION ON MANEUVERS, WHICH READS: "TRAINING WITH WAR-ORGANIZED UNITS UNDER WAR-LIKE CONDITIONS" (GENEVA 5401).
B.) DID ANYONE HAVE IN MIND MOVEMENTS WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF A GIVEN STATE WHERE TROOPS WERE ALREADY STATIONED, OR WITHIN A LARGER AREA, SPECIFICALLY ASKING IF THE MOVEMENT OF AMERICAN TROOPS ACROSS THE OCEAN WOULD BE INCLUDED? (COMMENT: WE DO NOT BELIEVE THIS LATTER QUESTION REQUIRES AN ANSWER FROM US. END COMMENT); AND
C.) DID THE WEST WANT NOTIFICATION OF THE MOVEMENT OF MILITARY TECHNOLOGY (SUCH AS TANKS) WITHOUT ACCOMPANYING TROOPS?

5. COMMENT. THE SOVIETS HAVE FIRED ANOTHER SALVO AT MOVEMENTS, BUT HAVE NOT YET DELIVERED THE FINAL COUP. WE EXPECT THAT THEY WILL ATTEMPT TO DRAW WESTERN PARTICIPANTS INTO AN INDEPENDENT DEBATE ON MOVEMENTS IN AN EFFORT TO GIVE CREDENCE TO A CLAIM THAT THE SUBJECT OF MOVEMENTS HAS BEEN STUDIED IN COMPLAINCE WITH THE HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS. NO DELEGATION HAS YET PROPOSED HOW TO "STUDY" MOVEMENTS, NOR HAVE ANY REVEALED A CONCEPT ON HOW TO SUBMIT ANY FINAL CONCLUSIONS. IF THE SOVIETS PERSIST IN THEIR FIRM POSI-
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TION, AS WE EXPECT THEY WILL, THE SUBJECT OF ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS MAY BE DISPOSED OF WITHOUT EXPOSING PUBLICLY ALLIED DIFFERENCES ON THIS ISSUE. END COMMENT.BASSIN

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